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ancient and modern, must play a large part in giving this type of culture, for they offer direct, first-hand material. We have for example in Latin literature a record of that civilization of long ago that we know best and that has affected our institutions most. The young student can more easily be thrilled by the history of the last years of the Roman Republic if he reads Cicero and if it is impressed upon him that Cicero's words are such as a human being to-day might write under similar circumstances. This is not mere theorizing, as an analysis of the attitude of a number of College students towards historical study showed. For the teacher who appreciates this point of view the only limitation is that of his knowledge of things ancient and modern. The problem is one of relating the study of Latin to the pupil's environment.

B. L. U.

THE LATER TRADITION OF VERGIL¹

One of the most curious and at the same time one of the most characteristic chapters in the history of mediaeval thought is that which defines and reflects the posthumous fame of Vergil.

The traditions of Vergil may be classed as literary and popular. These two streams, which had started even before the death of some of those who might have known the poet himself, flowed from entirely different sources, and did not begin to approach each other and mingle until as late as the twelfth century. In other words, the popular tradition of Vergil is not, as some have claimed, a secondary offshoot of the literary tradition. It had an independent and separate origin. This is one of the chief contentions of Comparetti. It has often been assailed, but has never been disestablished.

First, then, let us examine briefly the literary tradition of Vergil.

As a preliminary to the discussion, I may call your attention to a point which is all important here and should be constantly kept in mind. This is the fact that the literary tradition of Vergil as it has come down to our time rests ultimately on the schools and was propagated by them.

The schools of grammar and rhetoric, in the larger sense which Antiquity gave to those terms, were always of primal importance. But in the later centuries of the Empire they were almost the one center and source of intellectual life. The authors known were the authors studied here, and the impressions of them acquired at that time were often not revised nor even disturbed by any further reading in later years.

¹This paper does not profess to be in any respect a contribution to the subject with which it deals. It was originally used as a lecture. It was read at the Seventh Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Baltimore, May, 1913. It has now been revised and at the request of the editor is submitted to the readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY. Of course everyone is well aware that the great authority on the subject is Domenico Comparetti's *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* (Second edition, Florence, 1896). There is an English translation of the first edition by E. F. M. Benecke (London: George Bell and Sons, 1895).

The schools of the Middle Ages were the shrunken continuation of the Imperial schools. Here and here only was kept alive the direct literary tradition of antique culture. This explains why the great Classics which survive are so largely confined to those which went into the schools prior to the third century. Many authors who did not receive this tonic of professional recognition, such as it was, were quite unable to survive that crucial period. Others who had been used but were afterwards dropped from the steadily shrinking curriculum either perished altogether, or, in some cases, lay perdu until rediscovered at the Renaissance.

But in this respect the experience of Vergil—at all events, in the annals of Western Civilization—is probably unique. There was once a boy who said, during an examination, that Julius Caesar was a Roman and that he was best known on account of a book which he wrote for the use of schools. Vergil's book for the use of schools has made him, if that were possible, even more famous.

Vergil died in September of 19 B.C., leaving his *Aeneid* unfinished. His friends, Varius and Tucca, at the request of Augustus, edited and published the poem as soon afterwards as possible, probably within a year or two. Q. Caecilius Epirota, once intimate with Vergil's old friend, the poet Gallus, was, at that time, keeping a select school for boys. He at once included the *Aeneid* in his curriculum. From that hour to this, through all the darkness and despair of the later Empire, through all the fantastic turmoil of the Middle Ages, through all the latest fads of modern education, that tradition established by Q. Caecilius Epirota has never once been broken. It is, therefore, literally true that the boy who began his *Aeneid* to-day thereby took his place in an army of boys whose serried ranks reach back, unbroken, over a stretch of more than 1900 years, to the days of Caesar Augustus, to a teacher who had heard the poet himself, to boys who had seen him. And the experience of sixty generations has taught us that the password of that host is, *Arma virumque*. From rank to rank, from company to company, that password has come down through the ages by word of mouth from the very lips of him who uttered it first. Time and change vanish and are forgotten when we realize that the Old World is bound to the New by such a living link of eternal youth as this.

I have said that the literary tradition of Vergil was propagated by the schools and, for many centuries, by nothing but the schools. Hence, the scholastic influence upon it is paramount. Indeed, despite the fantastic and apparently remote shapes which it gradually assumes, this side of the tradition is all derived, primarily, from the study of the grammatical, rhetorical, and erudite elements of Vergil's poetry. The Romans devoted more attention to these aspects of their literature than any other nation of the West has ever done. The Middle Ages inherited their methods and continued them as best they could.

But, while the position of Vergil in the schools was one to which he was fully entitled by reason of his surpassing genius, his permanent and unchallenged supremacy there was due to still other causes which operated with ever increasing force at the very time when his real claims to greatness were least understood and appreciated. These were, first, the period in which he lived, which the Middle Ages looked upon as the acme of human greatness, and, second, his rare character and his proximity to the birth of Christ, both of which had an enormous influence in developing the historical side of his reputation prevailing in later times.

Roman literature was full of epics; it was literally infested with them. But the nature of Roman myth and tradition was such that the only subject capable of meeting all the requirements of a great national epic was the one which Vergil chose. Moreover, in his development of it he succeeded as no other man has ever done, in embodying in a lasting and artistic form the highest ideals and aspirations of the Roman people.

To begin with, therefore, his popularity was founded upon a real, though not always clearly defined appreciation of his genius. It was immediate and universal. This is shown in a variety of ways.

One of the most notable is the tradition of Vergilian quotation and literary reminiscence. This began at once and from then until the Renaissance it would be hard to find a single writer, even among the most ignorant and bigoted theologians, who does not show some traces of it. In every type of literature, in every department and grade of life, the Vergilian echo never ceases to be heard.

So, too, the regular discussion of Vergil's poetry in the rhetorical schools began at once. For example, the elder Seneca reports and preserves such a discussion which he had heard in his youth and in which Ovid himself took part.

A characteristic offshoot of these traditional rhetorical discussions crops out in Juvenal's description of the first century blue-stocking (6.434). The following translation is by Dryden:

But of all plagues, the greatest is untold;
the book-learned wife, in Greek and Latin bold;
The critic-dame, who at her table sits,
Homer and Vergil quotes, and weighs their wits,
and pities Dido's agonizing fits.
She has so far the ascendant of the board.
The prating pedant puts not in one word;
The man of law is nonplussed in his suit,
Nay, every other female tongue is mute.

It will be observed here that the themes to which the learned lady devotes her monologue are exclusively Vergilian. The first is the comparison of Vergil and Homer. This had been thoroughly threshed out nearly a century before, but it continued to be stock subject of discussion, and large fragments of it are still preserved in the old Vergilian commentators and in other works of the second to the fifth centuries.

The revival of Greek at the Renaissance again brought it to the front. It was hotly discussed in the eighteenth century, still more hotly discussed in the nineteenth century, and the opposite conclusion was reached. Only in the present generation have we reached a reasonable view of the subject.

The second theme had long been the subject of literary chit-chat, but the source of it was the ultimate source of all literary chit-chat—the rhetorical school. In the schools of rhetoric such subjects as this were given as practice themes to the boys—all of them budding orators—and worked out after the manner of the old-fashioned debating club. We may, therefore, state this theme as

RESOLVED: That Dido did not deserve blame but pity for her suicide. Juvenal's *femme savante* takes the affirmative. Nobody got a chance to take the negative.

But the tradition of rhetorical discussion is only one phase of the immense popularity of the Dido episode. No other part of the Aeneid furnished so many subjects for ancient and mediaeval art, statues, tapestries, frescoes, paintings, miniatures, and what not, as the fourth book. So, too, in the large body of later parasitic poetry, scholastic and otherwise, i. e. poetry whose existence is entirely due to certain passages or incidents of the Aeneid, nothing is more prominent than the theme of Infelix Dido. Declamations, plays, poems, epigrams on this inexhaustible subject are innumerable. I content myself with the mention of two.

The first is Ovid's famous letter of Dido to Aeneas (Heroides 7). It is an excellent example of what a man of genius can do with a mere literary suggestion.

The second is the following little epigram of unknown date which was first published in the Leyden edition of Ausonius which appeared in 1559:

Infelix Dido, nulli bene nupta marito:
hoc pereunte fugis, hoc furiente peris.

I know of no better example of the late Roman tendency to toy with a conceit, and, from this point of view, very little is lost in the adaptation of it by the Elizabethan poet, Francis Davison (Davison's Poetical Rhapsody, edited by A. H. Bullen, 1.139. London, 1891):

Oh most unhappy Dido!
Unhappy wife, and more unhappy widow!
Unhappy in thy mate,
And in thy lover more unfortunate:
By treason the one was reft thee;
By treason the other left thee.
That left thee means to fly with;
This left thee means to die with.
The former being dead,
From brother's sword thou fliest;
The latter being fled,
On lover's sword thou diest.

A later anonymous version is found in a work entitled A Collection of Epigrams (London, Walthoe, Second Edition, 1735, No. 459) this is the book from which Franklin drew a number of the verses for his Poor Richard's Almanac:

Poor queen, twice doom'd disastrous love to try!
You fly the dying, for the flying die!

Still another version by P. Corneille is found in his *Oeuvres*, etc. (Paris, Janet et Cotele, 1822, X, p. 151: Epitaphe de Didon, imitée du distique d'Ausone):

Misérable Didon, pauvre amante séduite,
Dedans tes deux maris je plains ton mauvais sort,
Puisque la mort de l'un est cause de ta fuite,
Et la fuite de l'autre est cause de ta mort.
Autre
Quel malheur en maris, pauvre Didon, te suit!
Tu t'enfuis l'un meurt, tu meurs quand l'autre fuit.

And in a note ad loc. the editor adds two others, the second of which, he says, has been wrongly attributed to Corneille:

Pauvre Didon, où t'a réduite
De tes maris l'étrange sort?
L'un en mourant cause ta fuite,
L'autre en fuyant cause ta mort.
Didon, tes deux époux ont fait tous les malheurs:
Le premier meurt, tu fuis; le second fuit, tu meurs.

Another characteristic sign of Vergil's popularity among a certain class of people still more or less familiar to us all is the fact that by the end of the first century the prototype of the Fitzgerald cult had attacked his memory. The poet Statius, for example, made his regular pilgrimage to Vergil's tomb in the same spirit that Petrarch did twelve centuries later, and that thousands of others have done since that time.

Martial tells us that the poets of his time kept Vergil's birthday as a regular holy day.

But long before the end of the first century the fame of Vergil had gone far beyond the cultivated classes. The freedmen of this period, for example, as we see from their epitaphs, were in one respect very much like Sam Weller: they liked to 'close with a verse'. Sometimes they insert in the midst of these verses various unmetrical details of family history in a way which reminds one of Mr. Wegg's habit of apostrophizing Mrs. Boffin in the midst of his quotations. Nevertheless, it is significant to observe that, in most cases, the original model of the verse is a quotation from Vergil.

Vergil is, also, frequently represented in those inscriptions scratched by various first century idlers on the house walls of Pompeii. *Arma virumque*, the old password, is seen there more than once, and always at an altitude which suggests the short reach of boyhood. Once, we find the beginning of the second book, *Conticuere omnes*, 'all became silent'—words strangely prophetic of the doom that was soon to overtake the city.

So, too, that parvenu and multimillionaire of Petronius, the inimitable freedman, Trimalchio, indulges in his Vergilian quotation as a matter of course. At the same time, his education and his point of view are such that he accounts for the origin of Corinthian bronze as follows:

You see, when Ilium was took, Hannibal, a long-headed somebody, one of your regular old snakes, got together all the brass, silver and gold statues and piled them up in a heap. Then he sets 'em on fire. And these yere odds and ends was all run into one lump. And so the smiths they drew on it and they made pans and dishes and figures. This is how we come to have Corinthian ware. Its everything together, neither one or tother.

The second century, especially the period of the Antonines, brought with it radical and far reaching changes in Roman standards of taste and literary art. We are now in the period of the Archaists and the *Elocutio Novella*, the most striking literary representative of which is the famous romance of Apuleius. The great Augustan poets, the once popular writers of the first century, were cast aside and the long neglected authors of the earlier Republic were studied and imitated.

The one characteristic exception was Vergil. He, alone, was more popular than ever. It is important, however, to observe that his popularity, at least in literary circles, was of a somewhat different sort. The criticism of the preceding century had been more or less independent and discriminating. The total disappearance of both these qualities from the criticism of the second century is one symptom of that rapid decay in taste and cultivation characteristic of the time. It was in this period that Vergil was established in that position of impeccable superiority which afterwards grew to such proportions that it became the most striking feature of the later tradition. One of the most remarkable symptoms of it first comes to the surface in this age and in connection with no less a person than Hadrian himself. I refer to the so-called *Sortes Vergilianae*, the use of Vergil, more especially of the *Aeneid*, as a book of divination. In a general way, the method seems to have been to open the book at random and then to select the line by some rule previously agreed upon—perhaps by lot, inasmuch as this style of consulting the future was actually practised in the temples. At all events, it was supposed that the line or lines so discovered contained the answer to the question. This curious practice, which Vergil shared with Homer, the Sibylline Books, and afterwards the Bible, shows in itself that he already had a well established reputation for more than human wisdom. This method of divination was often resorted to by the later emperors, flourished throughout the Middle Ages, and even to-day is by no means forgotten.

The locus classicus on this subject is Rabelais, 3. 8 ff. At the beginning of this amusing passage, Panurge had conceived the idea that he ought to marry. Feeling, however, that the venture was more or less perilous, he decided to consult Pantagruel first. The following brief sample will serve to illustrate Pantagruel's method of giving advice:

"If you think", quoth Panurge, "that it were much better for me to remain a bachelor as I am, than to

run headlong into some new harebrained undertaking of conjugal adventure, I would rather choose not to marry".

"Don't marry, then", quoth Pantagruel.

"Yea, but", quoth Panurge, "would you have me so solitarily drag out the whole course of my life, without the comfort of a matrimonial consort? Ycu know it is written, *Vae soli*, it is not good to be alone: and a single person is never seen to reap joy and solace that is found among those that are wedlocked".

"Wedlock it is then, in the name of God", quoth Pantagruel.

Clearly this type of advice was not very well calculated to help Panurge in his perplexity. So the two then decided to consult the *Sortes Vergilianae*. In the next chapter we have a Rabelaisian account of all the classical references to this subject. The method proposed by Pantagruel is to select some page at random, and then to determine the line upon that page by a single cast of three dice. The results of this system were anything but encouraging to Panurge. Moreover, the two could not agree on the inner meaning of the lines thus discovered. So they finally gave it up and turned to other methods of divination which do not concern us here.

The only real contribution to Vergilian literature in the second century was a life of the poet compiled from the best sources by Suetonius, for some years the private secretary of Hadrian.

The next four centuries mark a frightful decline. Scarcely anything remained unimpaired except the fame of Vergil and the indestructible majesty of that great Roman idea which he, himself, had embodied in lasting form. Paganism and the mighty Empire founded upon it and by it were on their death-bed. The throne of Caesar Augustus was for the most part the prey of ignorant and brutal soldiers. Literature and literary art were practically confined within the walls of the school house. Almost every connection of it with contemporary life was severed.

Vergil was, as ever, supreme, but as Comparetti well says, 'His chief office now was to teach children in the schools so as to give them the means of emphasizing their childishness when they grew up'.

For example, in this period it was not at all unusual for persons to know the whole of Vergil by heart. The result of it was one of the most characteristic literary excrescences of the Decline. This is the Vergilian centos, i. e. poems on all sorts of subjects which are simply a mosaic of different isolated lines and half lines of Vergil himself. Many of these are preserved in the eighth century Codex Salmasianus, and form the nucleus of the so-called *Anthologia Latina*. One of the most notable is an entire tragedy of *Medea*, by one Hosidius Geta, who belongs to the fourth century. Another Vergilian cento is by the Christian poetess, Proba Faltonia, and her subject is the entire history told by the Old Testament. I have never read it. But the most famous, at all events the best known to unregenerate classical students, is the composition suggested to Ausonius by that gay

and reckless successor of the Caesars known as Valentinian the Second.

Indeed, so much skill in this sort of thing was acquired that one Mavortius, a person whose productions are largely represented in the *Anthologia Latina*, actually developed the power of improvising centos. In a cento of his still extant the enthusiastic scribe pauses to tell us that at this point the author was hailed as Maro Iunior, 'The Modern Vergil'. The title was one which the author modestly but very consciously declines.

If it were worth while, I might continue to define and describe this and many other types of scholastic puerility attached to the tradition of Vergil. It will be enough, however, to say that the multiplication of such things was endless and highly characteristic of this long period of decadence.

A very important thing for us to keep in mind is this. The Middle Ages, from the nature of the case, knew Antiquity only through the eyes and ears of this period. Its views were their views and its teachers were their teachers. It is only from this point of view that we can understand the astounding mediaeval celebrity of two such men as Servius and Donatus.

Servius, whose commentary on Vergil was compiled near the beginning of the fifth century, is the commentator of the Middle Ages.

Donatus, a man whose intelligence was barely above tolerable mediocrity, compiled—from earlier and better sources, as usual—a short grammar. This was about the middle of the fourth century. Chronology alone is responsible for the fact that no Latin grammar was so successful and no grammarian so famous as were this book and its author for the next thousand years. Long after the Renaissance, any copy of a grammar might be called a Donat. Besides his Grammar, Donatus also wrote a commentary on Vergil, which is long since lost, with the exception of a life of the poet which he had prefixed to it.

This life, which has been preserved to us by being copied into several manuscripts, acquired a scholastic renown that has lasted until our own times. A large proportion of it is nothing more or less than that second century life by Suetonius which I have already mentioned, and which once stood in the *De Poetis*, a section of his *De Viris Illustribus*, which is now lost. Except for some abridgement here and there, Donatus evidently copied the text verbatim. In this period people copied whenever they could, and books involving any mental effort at all were being abridged.

Several additions to this life, however, were made by Donatus and possibly, too, by later editors. The foundation of them, for the most part, is the oral tradition of the schools. Most of them are anecdotes, and it is eminently characteristic of the mind of man in all ages that these highly improbable, if not impossible, anecdotes are the very things which have been longest remembered and most widely disseminated. I mention briefly two of these which are best known.

The first is connected with Vergil's famous lines on Marcellus in Aeneid 6. The story goes—and there is no reason for disbelieving it—that when Vergil first read these verses, Marcellus's mother was so affected that he was unable to finish.

It was also said—and, though this is not so well attested, it is not improbable in itself—that on account of that passage, Augustus gave Vergil a handsome present. Later we discover that Augustus paid Vergil by the line, and, as time goes on, the sum continues to increase, until finally the total amounts up to something over a million in our money. Thus, the impecunious grammarian of the Middle Ages cheated his fancy with a mirage of Imperial gold, just as the Elder Dumas, always hard up for money, wrote a novel the hero of which is a proverb of wealth.

The second is the familiar story of the four unfinished verses all beginning with, *Sic vos non vobis*. Certain poetasters had laid claim to some of Vergil's anonymous verses, notably one Bathyllus, and Augustus had, therefore, rewarded them with riches and honors. Vergil was not pleased. He, therefore, posted the four verses all beginning with *Sic vos non vobis*, and asked his rivals to complete them. Nobody was able to solve this wonderful puzzle. Then Vergil stepped forward and completed them as follows:

Hos ego versiculos feci: tulit alter honores:
 Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves.
 Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves.
 Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes.
 Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves.

I made these verses: others won the praise:
 You others then are birds that stole your nests.
 You others then are sheep in borrowed fleece.
 You others then are bees that steal their sweets.
 You others then strange kine that graze abroad.

The first distich is older than the fifth century. The others are later variations of it. It is needless to say that the story is more suggestive of Haroun Alraschid than of Caesar Augustus. Yet it is repeated in perfect good faith by an American editor whose book is still for sale. The phrase itself, *Sic vos non vobis*, has a tradition of its own in English literature which dates from not later than the time of Elizabeth.

(To be concluded)

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

REVIEW

Georgius Agricola: *De Re Metallica*. Translated from the first Latin edition of 1556 with Biographical Introduction, Annotations and Appendices upon the Development of Mining Methods, Metallurgical Processes, Geology, Mineralogy and Mining Law from the earliest times to the 16th century. By Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover. Published for the Translators, by The Mining Magazine, Salisbury House, London, E. C. (1912). 4to. Pp. XXXII + 640.

The head of the Belgian Relief Commission, who is doing such a marvellous philanthropic work in feeding

and clothing millions of destitute people, Herbert Clark Hoover, is an eminent mining engineer, who was graduated with the first class from Stanford University in 1895. His wife took her degree at the same institution three years later.

Mr. and Mrs. Hoover have had a rich and varied experience in the mining districts of Australia, China, Russia and America, and for some years past have maintained two homes, one in London, England, and the other in California. The latter has enabled Mr. Hoover to act as a trustee of Stanford University, and to take part in other public activities on this side of the Atlantic.

Unlike many scientific men of the day, Mr. Hoover is interested not only in the present methods used by mining engineers, but also in the past history and development of his science. It is this interest that has led him and his accomplished wife to undertake the great task of translating for the first time into English this important work of the sixteenth century, by George Bauer, whose name is Latinized as Agricola.

Bauer was born at Glauchau, Saxony, in 1494, and was graduated from the University of Leipsic, where he later became a lecturer. In 1518 he was appointed to teach Latin and Greek at Zwickau, where he prepared and published a Latin Grammar. After three years spent in Italy he was chosen town physician at Joachimsthal, a small city of Bohemia, only fifty miles from Freiberg, then the center of the most prolific metal-mining district of Central Europe. In 1533 he became city-physician of Chemnitz in Saxony and published *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, a discussion of Roman and Greek weights and measures. About the same time he began the *De Re Metallica*, a work which was not published until 1556, a year after his death.

These and many other interesting facts are given in an Introduction, which includes an account of "Agricola's intellectual attainments and position in science".

Agricola's education was the most thorough that his time afforded in the classics, philosophy, medicine, and sciences generally. Further, his writings disclose a most exhaustive knowledge not only of an extraordinary range of classical literature, but also of obscure manuscripts buried in the public libraries of Europe. That his general learning was held to be of a high order is amply evidenced from the correspondence of the other scholars of his time—Erasmus, Melanchthon, Meurer, Fabricius, and others.

In his day "the whole thought of the learned world still flowed from the Greeks", but, "had he not radically departed from the teachings of the Peripatetic school, his work would have been no contribution to the development of science". As it is, he was the one

to fight the first battle in science over the results of observation *versus* inductive speculation. . . . He was the first to found any of the natural sciences upon research and observation, as opposed to previous fruitless speculation.